

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 06413 01 OF 02 271739Z  
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 06413

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJECT: MINISTER KARPOV'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 26, 1978  
(SALT TWO-1711)

KARPOV STATEMENT, APRIL 26, 1978

- I

AT TODAY'S MEETING, IN CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS  
DISCUSSIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO SET FORTH  
ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ON QUESTIONS RELATED TO  
ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY--ON THE DEFINITION  
OF HEAVY BOMBERS.

- II

AREAS HAVE EMERGED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS  
WHERE THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE  
AFOREMENTIONED PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE II ARE CLOSE OR  
COINCIDE.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 06413 01 OF 02 271739Z

THERE IS AGREEMENT ON SPECIFICALLY WHICH TYPES OF  
BOMBERS WOULD CURRENTLY CONSTITUTE HEAVY BOMBERS: FOR  
THE USSR, TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV, FOR THE U.S.,  
B-52 AND B-1. THE COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS ON THIS SCORE  
IS REFLECTED IN THE FORMULATIONS TABLED BY THE SIDES FOR  
ARTICLE II, PAR. 3.

AS FOR THE SOVIET MEDIUM BOMBER, KNOWN IN THE U.S. AS BACKFIRE, AND MENTIONED IN THE U.S. WORDING FOR THIS PARAGRAPH, THE SOVIET SIDE'S POSITION ON THIS QUESTION IS KNOWN.

THE APPROACHES OF THE SIDES ARE CLOSE IN THAT CERTAIN AIRPLANES OF THE SAME TYPE AS THE HEAVY BOMBERS MENTIONED IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, SHALL NOT BE COUNTED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS IF THEY HAVE EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES DEFINITELY INDICATING THAT THEY CANNOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS.

IN ESSENCE THERE IS ALSO A COMMON VIEW CONCERNING INCLUSION AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE OF THOSE TYPES OF BOMBERS WHICH WOULD BE SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO CURRENT TYPES OF HEAVY BOMBERS, AND THEIR INCLUSION AS HEAVY BOMBERS SHALL BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SIDES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

THERE IS A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS THAT THE CRITERIA, WHICH MUST BE APPLIED IN THIS CONNECTION ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, MUST BE AGREED UPON IN THE SCC.

ALL THIS MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT A COMMON TEXT OF THE PROVISIONS PROPOSED BY THE SIDES ON THESE ISSUES  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 06413 01 OF 02 271739Z

ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS.

THERE IS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE THAT IN THE FUTURE TYPES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS WOULD ALSO BE INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS.

IN THIS CONNECTION I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE AGAIN THAT THROUGHOUT THE TEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO USE THE TERM "BOMBERS" IN THE SENSE IN WHICH THEY ARE DEFINED IN THIS PARAGRAPH OF THIS ARTICLE. INDEED, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE RELEVANT PROPOSALS TABLED HERE, THAT BOTH SIDES IN FACT PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT ONLY THOSE CARRIERS WHICH ARE COVERED BY THE DEFINITION IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, I.E., BOMBERS, MAY BE EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. THIS ALSO APPLIES TO ASBMS. CLEARLY THEREFORE, IN THE CONTEXT OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY IT IS PRECISELY THE TERM "BOMBERS" THAT WOULD ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE SUBJECT OF THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT IN THIS CONNECTION.

THE POSITIONS ARE SIMILAR REGARDING INCLUSION OF BOMBERS BEING EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES AS HEAVY BOMBERS ON THE BASIS OF THE TYPE RULE.

THIS RULE MUST BE EMBODIED CONSISTENTLY IN THE RELEVANT FORMULATIONS.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE APPROACH AGREED UPON BY THE SIDES, AND BASED ON THE "TYPE" CONCEPT, PRESUPPOSES THAT IN THE FUTURE INCLUSION OF TYPES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES

SECRET

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SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 06413 02 OF 02 271747Z  
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 06413

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AS HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SIDES, IN PARTICULAR, REGARDING THE RELEVANT FEATURES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES. THIS SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY.

AS A WHOLE, THE ABOVE DEMONSTRATES THAT THERE IS A BROAD BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AIMED AT REACHING AGREEMENT, ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS AND WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR ITS IMPORTANCE WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TREATY, ON THE ENTIRE SET OF PROVISIONS FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

- III

THERE ARE QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED IN ORDER TO ENSURE FULL AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 06413 02 OF 02 271747Z

THUS, IT REMAINS UNCLEAR WHY IN EFFECT AN EXCEPTION TO THE TYPE RULE AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES IN PRINCIPLE IS ENVISAGED HERE FOR B-52 BOMBERS WHICH WOULD BE EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

THE B-52 IS A TYPE OF HEAVY BOMBER TO BE LIMITED UNDER THE NEW TREATY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SIDES. THE REAL PROBLEM IN THE CONTEXT UNDER CONSIDERATION IS HOW TO RESOLVE THE MATTER OF COUNTING B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS WHEN EQUIPPED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES IN THE RELEVANT AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, ESTABLISHED IN THE TREATY, CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

IN THIS CONNECTION I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET SIDE CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO WORK OUT A PRECISE AND CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WITH REGARD TO B-52 TYPE HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, WHILE CONSISTENTLY AND STRICTLY APPLYING THE AGREED TYPE RULE AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT VERIFIABILITY OF THE APPROPRIATE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TREATY.

SPECIFIC RATIONALE HAS BEEN PRESENTED.

FURTHER, AS ALREADY NOTED HERE, THE SOVIET SIDE ALSO PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY IT IS PRECISELY BOMBERS, THAT IS THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH ARE SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES, WHICH MAY BE EQUIPPED WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE CRUISE AND

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 06413 02 OF 02 271747Z

BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THERE MUST BE NO FLIGHT TESTING OF CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS OR ASBMS FROM AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN HEAVY

BOMBERS AS DEFINED IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, AND SUCH AIR-CRAFT MUST NOT BE CONVERTED TO BE EQUIPPED WITH THESE MISSILES. PRECISELY SUCH A SOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION WOULD BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE ESSENCE OF THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES, AND WOULD ENSURE ESTABLISHMENT OF STRICT AND EFFECTIVE LIMITATIONS ON THE AFOREMENTIONED TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE FORMULATIONS BEING WORKED OUT BY THE SIDES IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, JUST AS ON OTHER RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT BEING PREPARED, MUST BE SUCH THAT, WHILE MEETING THE REQUIREMENT OF VERIFIABILITY OF THE RELEVANT OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED BY THE SIDES, THEY NOT GO OUTSIDE THE BOUNDS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

- IV

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS WE HAVE EXPRESSED TODAY IN CONNECTION WITH REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO BRINGING THE SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER AND TO FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON ALL OF THE RELEVANT ISSUES AS A WHOLE.  
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